THE GARRISON STATE BY LOUIS SMITH

THE *Nation*

December 5, 1953

20¢

Colin Cameron, M. P.

Canada's Revolt Against U.S.

Farmer-Labor Unity — *Lyle Cooper*

France's Little Hitler — *Alexander Werth*

Writer's Notebook — *Van Wyck Brooks*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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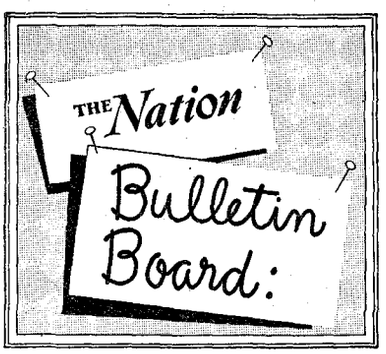

"YOU cannot even collect your thoughts, nowadays without being accused of unlawful assembly" said Charles Beard of the post World War I witch hunts. Aware of the truth of Professor Beard's comment, *Nation* editors have nevertheless assembled a sizable body of some of the finest and most original writing being done today on civil liberties. This will appear next week in our annual special sixty-four-page Civil Liberties issue: "Freedom and the American Tradition." With major elements in the Republican Party rushing pell-mell toward an American form of fascism, the issue appears at a particularly appropriate time. (For further information see announcement on back page.)

The Civil Liberties issue will also mark the launching of *The Nation's* Choice, the new book club for *Nation* subscribers only. This is one book club you are going to appreciate—since you will get *only* the books you want. The books offered will be selected on the recommendation of *Nation* editors and of various distinguished critics who write for this magazine. They will be distributed at reductions ranging up to 40 per cent (more if possible); the saving will be increased by the fact that excellent books will be given as bonuses with the purchase of every four.

Some people say we are sticking our necks out—nothing new for *The Nation*—getting into the book-club business now, what with so many around. However, we believe our club will be unique in that it will offer the kind of books which the conventional clubs do not offer. We also believe that the choices and the prices will appeal to the literate, liberal audience which reads *The Nation*—and thus guarantee the success of the club.

There is one other factor: a successful book club will enable *The Nation* to undertake many projects planned to improve the magazine and expand its influence.

. . . Readers have been enthusiastic over the article in the November 21 issue, The White Case: Crisis of Democracy, by Professor H. H. Wilson of Princeton. Here's what some have to say:

Marshall J. Foster, Madison, New Jersey, writes that it "was by far the best article I have read on the subject. Unfortunately, I am afraid the Democratic Party is not going to be willing to take the courageous position he suggests. . . . What a lift it would give liberals everywhere if it did take a firm stand."

"Crisis of Democracy deserves a ten-year subscription," writes William J. Reddan of Aquetong, Pennsylvania; Thomas Cambell of Brooklyn believes the Wilson piece is "a most admirable and timely statement of what should be called 'The Conspiracy of Reaction.'"

Mrs. Virginia B. Larkey of Greensfork, Indiana, "would like to see a copy of it in the hands of every government official, from the President down" and she wants more like it. (Professor Wilson has another excellent article coming in the special Civil Liberties issue.)

From Washington, Jeff Kibre writes that "Wilson's article is the clearest and most forceful statement which has been made about the top issue of the day." He suggests that "it would be something if Stevenson or a group of outstanding leaders would call a national conference around the issue of McCarthyism, particularly if they could be persuaded to adopt the thesis set forth in Wilson's article."

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Burke and Hare

Dear Sirs: Dylan Thomas's scenario about Burke and Hare, "The Doctor and the Devils," is surely the work of art and morality Jacob Korg described it to be in your November 14 issue. I have not read it. But if the story is to have a hero, I wonder if Dr. Robert Knox ("Dr. Rock") ought to be it. True he was a fine student and a victim of his own servants. True he was ruined by the poverty around him. The near-sighted, Mamlock-type scientist who has to have a fire built under him to be waked up is tragic.

The heroic are people who are already awake and struggling, and such a one was Thomas Wakely, founder of the *Lancet*. In his fight for legalization of anatomic study he fared worse than Ibsen's Dr. Stockmann. He laid the groundwork for the Warburton Anatomy Act, which was passed after the Edinburgh scandal broke.

ELIZABETH TOOHY

Indianapolis, Ind.

Politically Dead

Dear Sirs: The report of John Rankin's death in your November 7 issue is greatly exaggerated, though he is dead politically.

I also have taught at Vanderbilt and attended the Fisk conference, and the article in your October 31 issue (South's Eve of Decision by Bernard Crick) bears the marks of naivete. Mississippi is not guilty of the demagogic statements which Georgia and South Carolina have expressed on the school question. In the article the influence of the Fisk conference is heavily overrated, along with that of the Society of Friends, which is practically non-existent in the South. Southern Baptists admitted Negroes to their seminaries while Methodists and Congregationalists have not done so. . . .

CHARLES G. HAMILTON

Corinth, Miss.

The Russell Formula

Dear Sirs: I only want to express my gratitude for A World I'd Like and Solution in Korea in your November 7 issue. I believe Channing Liem has the best solution yet offered for Korea. And Bertrand Russell has managed to combine into one statement the few principles that are basic to the world solution. He is different from so many who stress the importance of food but omit consideration of the population problem.

Moose, Wyo. CLAUS J. MURIE

Coming in THE NATION

Writing from Geneva for our December 19 issue, J. Alvarez del Vayo, *The Nation's* foreign editor, will review the situation in Communist China in an article based on the latest reports available at the Geneva headquarters of the United Nations.

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Value of the Closed Door

Added together and divided by two—two representing the opposing power blocs—the current theories about international relations come out something like this: Nobody is willing publicly to make any of the concessions that might help "reduce tension" and ultimately bring about a settlement; thus nobody really wants a Big Four conference on major issues; but nobody wants to be held responsible for saying no to such a conference. So each adversary first makes unacceptable conditions and then, being charged with obstruction, rescinds them again; thus a conference will surely take place in spite of both sides and will accomplish nothing beyond an exchange of charges and counter-charges for propaganda purposes. After which, presumably, the chronic hostile stalemate will be resumed.

Accept this theory, and you either sign up for the great crusade against imperialism—Communist or capitalist—or you decide that Prime Minister Churchill should be given a chance to try his off-the-record top-level talks with the Russians. The chief advantage of such talks is secrecy. Only behind closed doors with no one else present can the responsible heads of the great powers feel each other out and, if results warrant, begin to bargain in terms of their real interests and intentions. The time has come when no word spoken in public means more than what the speaker wants his constituents or his opposition or his friends or enemies abroad to think he means. Malenkov can no more concede free elections for all Germany than Eisenhower can admit that Mao Tse-tung must speak for China in any realistic discussion of an Asian settlement. When every word is cold-war ammunition, negotiation does not exist.

The Bermuda Front

Now that Moscow has deleted the most unacceptable of the conditions it set in its earlier note answering the Western proposal of a Big Four meeting—has in fact accepted the proposal—the Western leaders assembled in Bermuda must presumably try to collate their plans and ideas in preparation for that meeting. For Washington to utter warnings and call the Soviet note a "trap" is to reveal how little this country hoped for an acceptance, and to admit that the coveted initiative has been captured by the other side. But how can they create a common front when France, quite plainly, cannot promise ratification of the European-army plan or any plan for German rearmament? Laniel's barely won mandate goes no farther than support of the general principle of Western unity—which would include West Germany only under conditions that Adenauer will never accept.

Common sense would suggest an agreement among the Western powers to drop German rearmament in return for solid concessions by Russia. But, again, such an agreement could never be announced until a reasonable quid pro quo had been assured, and that would have to be arranged privately if at all. Such are the uses of secret diplomacy, which, we have reluctantly come to believe, is the only feasible way out of a cold war.

Who Runs the G. O. P.?

It should have been obvious to all not blinded by paranoia or bewitched by the cynical concentration on "smart political tactics" that the Administration's attempt to preempt the anti-Communist hoax would boomerang. Since Senator McCarthy's reasseveration of his monopoly of genius, in the course of a nation-wide television and radio address, even Brownell must be smarting, if not smarter. There are dangers for the uninitiated in gargling poison. The shrewd operators who sought to cover the bankruptcy of the Republican legislative program and those who merely sought to divert attention from the revealed blemishes of Governor Dewey's immaculate administration have been had.

In the days since Brownell's application of McCarthy techniques we have witnessed depressing developments. Mr. Truman's speech was pugnacious but inadequate. He could have issued a clarion call for a return to sobriety and rationality. He might well have confessed that his Administration launched the loyalty program which led inexorably and logically to the denouement that the ex-President too was a protector of the "spy ring." Though Mr. Truman exhibited outrage at the attack on the late Chief Justice Vinson, he callously ignored the assault on Harry Dexter White. And Mr. White, like his chief, was merely accused, not convicted, of wrong-doing.

Tragically, neither Mr. Truman nor his associates in high ranks of the Democratic Party reveal awareness of the issues at stake. Even Mr. Stevenson assumes that

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the Administration has "taken McCarthyism away from McCarthy." The truth is that Brownell and the Republican National Committee have bolstered it for the use of the Senator from Wisconsin in his drive to total power. The issue is not, as Mr. Stevenson states, how to deal with espionage. The McCarthys, Jenners, Veldes seek power. Judged by any standard, their professed interest in the welfare and security of the United States is denied by their deliberate flouting of our allies, their contribution to the degradation of America's prestige abroad, and their undermining of democracy at home.

The President's Last Chance

In his declaration of war on decency, as on conservatism, Senator McCarthy made explicit what many had recognized as implicit in his career. He is driving for the White House. He has the weapons, the skill, the ruthlessness, and the total amorality to exploit his opportunities. For the first time in American history we are confronted by a demagogue with national appeal whose tactics cut across all the barriers of race, class, religion, and income which have previously served to frustrate the pursuit of absolute power. Furthermore, his tactics have been strengthened—more than that, they have been prepared for him—by the high priests of the mass media. Attempts to answer McCarthy by reliance upon reason are undercut by the cultivation of unreason and the destruction of critical intelligence by habits inculcated by the hucksters. This corruption is further underlined by the weak-kneed capitulation of the radio-television moguls in conceding to the Wisconsin Senator the use of a full half-hour of time on a national network. Mr. Truman did not attack McCarthy. He took at the most a minute to explain the contemporary meaning of McCarthyism. Does this imply that Senator McCarthy is the acknowledged spokesman for Mr. Brownell and the Eisenhower Administration, which were, after all, the primary subject of Mr. Truman's attack?

Those who voted for President Eisenhower in good faith must recognize this as the showdown. McCarthy has challenged both the President's policy and his position as leader of his party. If Eisenhower does not assume leadership now, if he does not accept this challenge and go to the American people with a forthright declaration of independence and responsibility, McCarthy will boss the G. O. P. Positive, aggressive, dynamic leadership now is demanded, even if it means that the President's golf game suffers.

U. M. T. and the Garrison State

Louis Smith's astute analysis of this country's drift towards the garrison state (see page 461) is given added timeliness by the report of the five-man National Security

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Training Commission scheduled to be turned over to the President this week. According to the *Daily News*, the commission has decided to recommend a "national lottery for draft-eligible men to determine whether they get six months of universal military training or two years in regular military service." The men selected for U. M. T. would be automatically transferred to reserve or National Guard units after they had served their six-months active duty and for seven and one-half years thereafter would be subject to first call in the event of an emergency.

If the *Daily News* version of the plan is correct, the American boy faces the alternative of serving two years' full time or eight years' part time, depending upon the vagaries of the lottery wheel. Which he would consider the less onerous would in turn depend upon individual circumstances. But for all young Americans the lottery could only mean bad luck, wherever the wheel might stop. And for the country the adoption of any such plan would provide what Mr. Smith might call an additional "psychological impetus" to our drift towards the garrison state.

Fortunately there is some powerful legislative opposition to U. M. T. under any guise, including that of Congressman Dewey Short, chairman of the influential House Armed Services Committee. Here is the kind of simple, down-to-earth issue on which a Congressman's vote is likely to be determined primarily by one factor: the kind of mail he gets from his constituents.

Subsidies for Advertising

Expenditures for advertising, which this year will exceed $7.7 billion, are expected to be even higher in 1954. Yet the hucksters are worried, and with reason. The excess-profits tax, which has stimulated advertising expenditures, will soon expire. Obviously some new rationale must be found to justify continued indirect subsidies. Rather ingeniously, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's Committee on Economic Policy has found one in the obvious fact that advertising expenditures tend to rise and fall with the business cycle. Therefore, it is argued, some new tax gimmick should be found which would make it possible to use advertising, like public works, to stabilize the economy. The proposed remedy is to amend the tax laws so as to permit corporations to deduct advertising expenses on the basis of appropriations rather than actual spending, thus permitting a corporation to build up reserves for advertising which could be used, should business decline, to stimulate sales.

The difficulty with the plan is that it may have effects quite other than those advanced to justify it. Nowadays it is only the concern which earns super-profits that can afford to make the maximum use of such extremely effective but enormously expensive media as television. The expensive TV programs which these firms sponsor are not primarily aimed at increasing sales; the real purpose is to make it increasingly unlikely that the smaller outfits in the same industry will ever overtake the giants. The proposed new rationale, therefore, would simply make it possible for the giant corporations to continue to finance a large part of their costly advertising programs, which are used to minimize actual and potential competition, at the public's expense.

McCarthyism in Bonn

Germany's "*affaire* Gehlen" is a curious inversion of our own White case. A former army general, Gehlen was entrusted by the Bonn government with the building of a huge intelligence machine consisting of the equivalent of four batallions of the former German army. Most of his 1,000 military and 3,000 political specialists were recruited from the cadres of Hitler's Security Police, which means that they are 100 per cent Nazi and—according to the new table of values—100 per cent "safe for democracy."

Such an imposing force had to justify its existence. Its agents were sent everywhere, even into Chancellor Adenauer's own offices, where cases of disloyalty were built up against some of the Chancellor's closest collaborators, who were accused of maintaining contacts with the Russian enemy. The restless Grand Inquisitor sent his operatives into the Soviet zone, too, where unhappily they came a cropper. The Russians discovered his nest of agents and promptly proceeded to arrest the majority of them.

This was a hard blow for Gehlen, but even harder is the fact that the Chancellor, who at the beginning defended him, is now letting him down. Adenauer argues that it is not possible to maintain an investigatory machine which uses as operatives men who "have been working with the occupation authorities." Ostensibly the Chancellor is referring to the fact that some of the agents who have been tapping his own wires were refugees from East Germany who were suspected of working not with Gehlen, but with the Russians. But the argument could have a double meaning, for Gehlen got his start in the spy business as a "protégé" of the American occupation authorities.

What About Peace?

Israel has now been censured by the Security Council of the United Nations. But the question still remains: what about peace? And even more pertinent: how and when is the United Nations going to discharge its responsibility to bring about peace in the Middle East? We suggest that a beginning might be made with Jordan.

The most shocking aspect of the discussions just con-

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cluded was the careful avoidance by all the permanent members of the Security Council of either talk or action looking to a permanent Arab-Israel settlement. It remained for Israel to invoke Article 12 of the armistice agreement in order to seek a conference between itself and Jordan on the situation which had provoked the month-long Council discussions.

Should the conference, for which the Secretary General has now issued a call, be held there is of course no assurance of any constructive outcome. Jordan will unquestionably be guided both by the views of the Arab League and the pressures of Britain, its protector, neither of which for the moment at least is on the side of permanent settlement.

It is here that the United Nations can exercise its greatest authority and is in fact *obligated* to do so if it is to discharge its Charter responsibilities. Unless the U. N. makes it clear that it is interested in permanent settlement in a much more forceful fashion than it has done to date, the outlook is for a stalemate and a resultant deterioration of Arab-Israel relations. The new Secretary General has perhaps his first real opportunity to demonstrate his capacity as a mediator for peace. Mr. Hammarskjold does not require any special resolution of the Security Council to press for a necessary settlement, desirable though such a resolution might be.

To achieve peace it is also important that a certain atmosphere should be created. It is worth asking therefore at this time whether the U. N. will continue to allow itself to be used as a forum for the spreading of slanderous talk of "international Jewish conspiracy." In default of other arguments, representatives of the Arab states since 1947 have consistently fallen back on the odious and discredited "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Never has this vicious libel been more frequently used than in the recent Council debates by the delegate of Lebanon and other Arab spokesmen. If there are no rules of procedure which could bring the Arab spokesmen to order, then common decency should be called into play.

CANADA'S REVOLT

Against the United States . . . *by Colin Cameron*

Ottawa

THE latest accomplishment of the McCarthyites has been to turn the last firm, disinterested friend the United States had in the world into a hostile and suspicious neighbor. The first demand of the Jenner committee to be allowed to interview Igor Gouzenko was dismissed here as a piece of gaucherie, stupid and in bad taste but not of very great importance. The second demand, in the face of the refusal of the Canadian government to accede to the request and its expressed conviction that Gouzenko had no further information to offer the committee, was regarded here as a piece of intolerable impudence. Coupled as it was with an attempt to blackmail Canada with the hint that the committee had some discreditable information regarding the Honorable Lester B. Pearson, Minister of External Affairs, this impudence appeared to be that of the gangster underworld.

COLIN CAMERON is a Canadian member of Parliament from British Columbia.

The general indignation was given voice in the House on November 23. David Croll, Liberal member from Toronto, led the assault with a blistering attack on "political blackmailers" in the United States. "By trying to smear the Minister [Pearson] they hope to blackmail this government into handing over for their purposes and for their use Igor Gouzenko, who is a ward of the government, in order that he may provide for them another act in their variety show," he said. Croll demanded that President Eisenhower exert his authority to repudiate the attack on Pearson. In doing this, Croll was also obliquely giving voice to the growing distrust with which Canadians regard the Eisenhower Administration and the President himself. It would be a pity if Americans in general and the President in particular were to be deluded by the apparent cordiality with which Eisenhower was greeted in this capital two weeks ago into imagining that Canada and Canadians are easy in their minds about the Administration in Washington.

Following Croll in the debate in Commons, Stanley Knowles, a Cooperative Commonwealth Federation member from Winnipeg, continued the attack on the Jenner committee. Knowles pointed out that if the government yields to pressure and permits Gouzenko to appear before the committee, any public man in Canada who at a later date refuses to appear will risk being smeared as a Communist sympathizer. Indeed, there is widespread feeling here that Gouzenko, falling into the clutches of the Washington witch-hunters, may succeed in smearing half the men in public life in Canada today. It must be borne in mind that the Canadian political scene is much more sophisticated than the American. In addition to the twenty-three members of the C. C. F. who are avowed socialists, innumerable members of other parties hold and express some views which would undoubtedly be labeled "Communist" by the political illiterates of American Congressional investigating committees. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that Canadians, who have viewed with a hitherto somewhat amused contempt the American

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practice of trial by legislative bodies, are now aroused to the danger of these practices involving their own nationals.

The attack on Lester Pearson bears for Canadians all the earmarks of that vicious method by which Adolf Hitler forced the governments of neighboring countries to drop from their Cabinets ministers who were persona non grata to the Nazi regime. Canadians have the reputation of being a dull and phlegmatic people. Any American sitting in the House of Commons during the debate on the Jenner demands would have been sharply disabused of that idea as he listened to the vigorous desk-thumping approval of the denunciations of current witch-hunting practices in Washington.

As for the press, a typical Canadian editorial comment appeared in the Toronto *Globe and Mail* during the height of the debate. After referring to Walter Winchell's attack on Pearson as having dragged Canadian-American relations into the gutter, the editorial went on:

> It [the Canadian government] should say that if Gouzenko wants to take part in the Jenner-McCarthy vaudeville show he is free to do so—on his own responsibility and at his own considerable risk. Having made that clear, it should say, as bluntly as possible, that it is finished with the whole business; that publicity, not security, is the sole issue involved; and that this being the case any further communications on the subject that come from across the border will be treated with silent contempt.

There is considerable regret in Canada that the government has not seen fit to go so far. At this writing Pearson has made it clear that Gouzenko, as a Canadian citizen, is free to go to Washington on his own responsibility, or alternatively that representatives of the Jenner committee may interview him in Canada in the presence of Canadian security officials, provided that any information so obtained will be released only on the authority of the Canadian government. Regardless of Senator Jenner's reaction, the offer is regarded by many here as a regrettable capitulation to Washington pressures. The safeguard imposed by Ottawa on the release of information has not impressed those who recall the breach of confidence by Attorney General Brownell in declassifying certain material in connection with the White case.

Needed: an Un-Continental Activities Committee

Washington, November 23 (International News Service).—A State Department appraisal of the current situation in Latin America was requested today by Senator George Smathers of Florida in the wake of Dr. Milton G. Eisenhower's report of Communist infiltration in the area. Smathers warned: "While we are devoting so much attention to Europe and Asia, the Soviets seem to be slipping inside our guard and hitting us where it will hurt much worse."

The Senator declared he will also urge Congress, when it reconvenes January 6, to adopt a "more realistic" as well as a "more helpful" program toward Latin America.

THE GARRISON STATE

Offspring of the Cold War . . . *by Louis Smith*

MIRABEAU once said that Prussia was not a state possessing an army but an army possessing a state. Many people in America, noting how greatly military factors and military leadership have come to the forefront of public policy in recent years, are fearful that this will soon be the case here. One official group studying our organization for national security remarked that "the military have picked up the ball of national policy and are starting down the field with it." Albert Einstein, whose concern for the survival of human rights in America is well known, believes the nation is already far along in this terrible illness—"the Prussian disease."

LOUIS SMITH, dean of Berea College, is the author of "American Democracy and Political Power."

Civil control of the military arm is one of the basic principles of our government. And this control must be exercised not merely by civilians but by officials who are democratically responsible to the people. This tradition goes back to the Puritan Revolution in England in the seventeenth century and was cherished by the Founding Fathers, who ingeniously included it in the governmental system they devised at Philadelphia in 1787. During the century and two-thirds since that time, the American people have always insisted on the subordination of military to civil authority, and with good success.

Historically, military control of government has resulted from a lawless seizure of power by the armed forces. The classic forms of such control are "praetorianism," named for the bloody domination of the Roman palace guard and meaning rule of the country by the military for the military, and "Caesarism," rule by an élite using the military as its instrument. Today there is little fear of these forms of military control. What is feared is the garrison state, a modern totalitarian state in which a rigid discipline, growing out of military ideals and military considerations, dominates all aspects of the people's lives. It is not necessarily a state ruled by an army, although this may be the case; rather it is a state with its whole population on a quasi-military footing, with all other considerations subordinated to the purpose of attaining national security by the maximization of power.

Looking at the current scene in Washington, one finds it fairly easy to prepare an impressive bill of particulars showing

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military participation in areas of government formerly monopolized by civilians. Military influence is strong in all high-level policy discussions. This is not accidental or conspiratorial but due to a recognition that if our chief problem today is security for ourselves and the nations associated with us, we must consider, even if we do not always heed, the military's view on national policy.

IT DOES NOT follow that the military are in the saddle in Washington or deliberately intend to achieve control. They recognize the right of others to make final decisions and have accepted such decisions almost without exception. Recalcitrant individuals have been relieved of command or otherwise disciplined. If the garrison state comes here the military are not likely to be its builders.

This conclusion is supported by the long history of the military establishment in America. Though its relations with the civil authority have occasionally raised problems, it has always accepted without question the principle which gives it a secondary and instrumental position in the nation. It is true that out of the fighting in Korea have come a few instances of strong differences between the Chief Executive and the commander in the field, as in the cases of Generals MacArthur and Van Fleet. General MacArthur's contention in Boston two years ago that the military command owed its primary loyalty to the Constitution rather than to the President —who by the Constitution is commander-in-chief—is about as far as such a spirit of intransigency has gone, and it has found no public echoes from fellow-generals.

In singling out military leaders for such censure as may be due them, we must not overlook the danger of unduly neglecting their role in the formation of national policy. There is no denying that this nation is in a position both of peril and of responsibility. To survive and to meet our responsibilities as the leader and defender of the non-Communist portion of the world, we must be strong militarily. At the moment, particularly if a Korean peace is effected, there is reason to fear that budget-balancers, economizers, and isolationists may team up to cut our military and foreign-aid programs to levels inconsistent with our risks and responsibilities. Here we face a

cruel dilemma. We know that "they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." But we know equally well that they who do not take it perish also.

That the garrison state is not likely to come from direct action by the military is comforting. But it does not dispose of the danger that it will prevail in America. There are more subtle ways in which it can come to pass. It is possible that it will emerge gradually, the end product of multitudinous concessions to military necessity made either in war time or in a period of grave and prolonged crisis. For most of the past fourteen years this nation has lived under conditions of war or threat of war. Because of this protracted emergency numerous departures from liberal tradition have been condoned by custom or legitimized by statute or administrative order. Atomic war or invasion of this country would create a new emergency, and new bills are being drafted at this very time to empower the government to act swiftly and drastically.

These legal controls are reinforced by economic factors. Last year over fifty billion dollars was spent on military goods for Korea and elsewhere. In three years more than one hundred billion dollars was spent on Korea alone, approximately two-thirds of what was spent on World War II during an equal period of time. In addition to military spending for the Korean conflict, billions of dollars were spent on other programs directly related to security planning. Such vast expenditures for military strength and foreign aid may tend to make full employment and business prosperity precariously dependent on the perpetuation of the crisis. Moreover, the volume and nature of this military spending may give top-level military procurement officers virtual control over the economy. This is not happening to any appreciable extent now, largely because of the 50 per cent expansion in national productive capacity since the end of World War II, but if a third global war should come or if by some other severe intensification of our security crisis the rate of military spending should have to be swiftly and enormously increased, the danger would become a reality.

This is illustrated by the famous controversy during World War II between Donald Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, and General Brehon

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Burke Somervell, in charge of procurement for the army. There was conflict between the civilian and military points of view on war production from the start. Finally, after repeated attempts to establish harmonious working relations with Somervell and his associates, Nelson charged that the military were out to obtain outright control of the economy. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson angrily defended Somervell from this accusation, terming it "palpably preposterous." What the army desired, Stimson declared, was not control, but supplies.

Very probably Stimson was right in saying that the army did not seek overall control of the economy. The general principle of civilian predominance was hardly challenged. On the other hand, Nelson's complaint had a de facto basis, since the aggregate of decisions on the allocation of labor, machines, raw materials, and industrial output—decisions which the army apparently sought to dominate—actually represented control, whatever the formal acknowledgment of the principle of civil control.

THE FACTORS most likely to bring the garrison state to America are not military or economic but psychological. The great danger is that the minds of civilians, both leaders and the common people, will be militarized by the psychological pressures in that direction caused by long-protracted cold war with its recurrent and ever-graver crises. Each crisis has thus far been resolved without precipitating a third world war but points none the less to its ultimate inevitability. Under such pressures the President, who is both chief magistrate and commander-in-chief, may let the latter role become predominant in his thought and action. Faced with total war involving atomic weapons, the President will be under almost irresistible pressure to expand war powers to the limit and to restrict any individual rights which might impede the attainment of maximum strength.

The same danger will exist for other high officials in the government, such as members of the National Security Council, the Secretaries of Defense and the armed services, and the heads of the armed-services committees of the House and Senate. These are all civilians, with very considerable responsibility for our military policies. The members of the United States Supreme Court are also exposed to it, as men who have to interpret the Constitution in a national emergency. At times the justices must ask themselves whether it is more important to preserve the letter of the Constitution or to save the nation. Just as the court is said to follow the election returns, it follows in a far more consistent way reports from the fighting fronts. All this probably justifies the conclusion that in time of defense emergency our rights are in greater jeopardy from expansion of the war powers than from encroachment by the military establishment.

In our history major invasions of our liberties in war or security crises have been launched not by the military but by the civil leaders who legally control the military. The resettlement of the West Coast Japanese Americans during World War II is a good illustration. This action, perhaps the worst invasion of civil rights ever experienced in this country, may have been suggested initially by a military commander but it was authorized by President Roosevelt, subsequently legalized by Congress, largely carried out by a civilian agency, and ultimately approved by the Supreme Court.

If our civilian leaders have been subject to this kind of psychological militarization the general public may be even more easily affected. We are, at the moment, showing a weariness of cold war and a hunger for some kind of settlement. At the same time there seems to be general acceptance of the fact that for the foreseeable future we must continue to live under the threat of war. There is in us all a grave disquiet, a fear that this country is not strong enough, or ready enough, or smart enough to defend itself from catastrophic assault from without. As to attack from within, the strength of public support for McCarthyism is sad evidence of our exaggerated anxiety.

We cannot comfort ourselves by assuming our basic fears are hysterical and unfounded. They are tragically reasonable. We know that Russia possesses atomic weapons, that our radar screens and air defenses are probably inadequate to warn and protect us, that two or three bombs could make a shambles of any one of our major cities, and that these bombs are saturation killers. Senator Stuart Symington has estimated that there would be 13,000,000 casualties in the first phase of an atomic air attack on this country.

Throughout our past we have shown an abiding reverence for democratic and civil control of the government in war as in peace. We have a good record of living up to these principles. But let the third world war appear imminent, and let it seem that the atomic weapons we used against Hiroshima and Nagasaki are to be employed against our own population centers, then the garrison state may be brought into being by the frenzied demands of our own people that they be not exposed to annihilation by the omission of any security factor. As Alexander Hamilton wrote in the *Federalist* papers a long time ago, "Safety from external danger is the most powerful directive of national conduct," and the people in order "to be more safe, . . . at length become willing to be less free."

IF WE ARE to avoid the tragedy of the garrison state or the immeasurably worse catastrophe of atomic war, the mandate to the Eisenhower Administration is plain: a solution of our differences with Russia must be sought by negotiation rather than by conflict. Such negotiation cannot succeed on a unilateral basis. All parties must have a genuine interest in settling the issues and in avoiding conflict; each side must be willing to bargain and to compromise. In the past it has not seemed to the people of the United States that Russia has had this interest. Undoubtedly the Russians have felt the same way about this country. But for the first time since 1946 indications in Russia, the United States, and elsewhere suggest the possibility of successful negotiation. The prospects may not be as promising as they appeared earlier in the year, but they remain too substantial to be ignored.

Reports from behind the Iron Curtain point to growing unrest. Tension is mounting in Czechoslovakia. From Poland comes news of slowdown and sabotage on the part of the workers. East Germany in the early summer witnessed spectacular anti-Russian demonstrations. In Russia there are signs that the people have become tired of the strains and sacrifices required by long-protracted mobilization for cold war. Gone from the Kremlin is the tough, crafty, single-purpose Josef Stalin. Uncertain of their power at home, the men of the Kremlin

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may feel peace is essential. Despite their familiar tactics of alternately blowing hot and cold, they may now be ready for a meeting with Western leaders.

The United States likewise seems more willing to negotiate. As in Russia, a new Administration is in power. Eisenhower, having brought about a Korean truce, is plainly anxious to lessen the military emergency throughout the world, to reduce the mobilization rate, to lower federal expenditures, and to cut taxes. Recent political events show that his Administration is losing popularity. He might find himself in real trouble if the fanatical old Syngman Rhee should precipitate a renewal of the fighting in Korea. But of course this would be grave trouble for all of us. We should find ourselves again in a war we could afford neither to lose nor to prosecute on a large-enough scale to win. To commit our military resources to a major war on the Chinese mainland would probably impair fatally our ability to defend Western Europe, a consideration not lost on the people there. NATO is dragging. The logic of the situation points to negotiation.

There is no magic in the word "negotiate" which will solve our problems. There is no guaranty that the process of negotiation, however sincerely and intelligently we push it, will provide a secure and durable settlement of the issues which have divided the world into two armed camps. Whether there is sufficient good-will on both sides to push for mutually acceptable solutions cannot now be known. Whether with the best will in the world the differences between the two blocs can be resolved peacefully cannot now be said. But this much is certain—to refuse to make the effort is criminal, for by such refusal we insure for ourselves the garrison state, even if we escape becoming the annihilated state.

FARMER-LABOR UNITY

New Links Are Forged . . . *by Lyle Cooper*

Chicago

SIGNS point toward a much closer working alliance between city wage-earners and farmers than seemed possible even six months ago. Any cooperation that develops will take chiefly a political form, though it will have been brought about by economic pressure. Economic also will be the content of any farmer-labor program.

These conclusions are based on observations at three recent hearings of the House Committee on Agriculture—at Norfolk, Nebraska; Des Moines, Iowa; and Cheyenne, Wyoming. The committee has been collecting the views of organizations and individuals on what is needed in the way of new farm legislation. Farm-organization spokesmen, together with farmers and ranchers who speak only as individuals, provide most of the witnesses, but a few representatives of labor usually appear also.

Members of the committee and farmers in attendance feared at first that these union-sponsored witnesses would take the "wrong" position. Were they not likely to oppose some of the main features of existing farm legislation, particularly government price supports for "basic" agricultural products? Most newspapers and radio commentators had been "educating" urban consumers to believe that they were being gouged by farmers in two ways—first, through high food prices caused by "high, rigid price supports," and, second, through the "billions of taxpayers' money" that Uncle Sam was compelled to collect in order to finance these price supports and subsidies. But union spokesmen soon made it clear at the hearings that they are no more gullible in swallowing this big-business propaganda than are most farmers. Indeed, they hammered on the theme that the slide in farm income—amounting to about 12 per cent so far this year, on top of declines in 1951 and 1952—had already hurt many city workers as well as the farmers.

The most dramatic evidence was offered by witnesses representing the two unions in the farm-machinery industry, the United Electrical Workers and the United Automobile Workers. These men gave the names and locations of companies which had laid off thousands of workers as a result of the farmers' widespread inability to buy tractors and other equipment. Sizable layoffs and cuts in hours of work per week were cited by spokesmen for the United Packinghouse Workers. The hog and pork departments of many packing plants, large and small, had reduced man hours of work because the extremely low prices paid farmers for hogs in 1951 and into 1952 had forced these meat producers to cut back sharply on hog breeding. This, in turn, caused much higher retail prices on pork.

The Packinghouse Workers have also observed the existing critical situation among ranchers and farmers who produce beef cattle, and predict more layoffs and short weeks in the beef departments of the packing plants. The trouble originates in the demand of the leaders of the "old line" cattle associations for a drastic reduction in today's "large" cattle population. For example, F. E. Mollin, secretary of the American Cattlemen's Association, has seriously urged *halving* the number of beef-cattle cows. This would briefly increase the supply of low-quality beef but would drastically reduce the calf crop. Since cattle, in contrast to hogs, multiply slowly and require several years of feeding to reach marketable weights, it would be a slow process.

This prospect needs to be measured against the fact that United States con-

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sumers have not been getting "too much" beef. In fact, with pork output down sharply this year—around 15 per cent—much of the increase in beef supply that has taken place recently is required to make up for the loss of pork, particularly in view of our annual population rise of about 2,500,000.

THOUGH THE total per capita consumption of meat increased slightly in 1953, widespread financial losses were suffered by both branches of the cattle industry in the range country where "feeders" and "stockers" are bred and in the cornbelt states to which these grass cattle are normally shipped for fattening. Any slight decreases in retail beef prices the consumer has enjoyed this year were preceded by such deep slashes in prices paid ranchers and feed-lot operators that many men are already being forced out of these lines. This method of "adjustment" is taken philosophically by the large ranchers and feed-lot operators. These "big boys," individually and as spokesmen for the old-line cattle associations, have been well represented at the Agriculture Committee hearings. They are against price supports on cattle—"because supports would mean government control." Their attitude is basically the same as that of the "farm experts" for the packers and food processors, who are advising Secretary Benson.

But among the more than ninety witnesses who had their hurried say at Cheyenne a decisive majority strongly favored price supports for cattle. The small or medium-sized ranchers fully understand that a curtailment program—getting rid of half their breeding cows—would, at best, place them in a much weaker position relative to the big ranchers. At worst, it would drive many of them out of production and into bankruptcy, and the range and herds they lose would fall into the hands of the "big boys." Sensing what the curtailment program would mean to them, the "little fellows" at Cheyenne booed and hooted in old-time Western abandon at the "rugged individualism"—"galloping Hooverism," one witness aptly phrased it—advocated by the big ranchers.

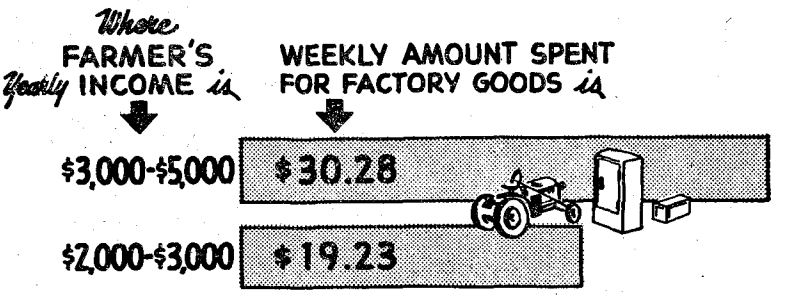
The small cattle raisers want to maintain high-level and stable production, not kill off half their cows. But in order to take the road of abundance rather than scarcity, they need price supports to serve as a protective floor under their costs. This floor should be at least 90 per cent of parity, says the United Livestock Producers' Association, whose rapid growth, especially in the range country, is causing the old-line cattle associations considerable anxiety. A similar position is taken by the National Farmers Union, which was the chief sponsor of the recent cattlemen's caravan to Washington.

THE FARMERS UNION has given new life at this juncture to the production-payment method of supporting cattle prices. Under this procedure no attempt would be made to hold meat off the market—in order to cause artificial scarcity and thereby higher meat prices—in the hope that the farmer would indirectly benefit through the packers' ability to pay more for cattle. Instead, meat prices would be allowed to find their own level, and when this level, based on consumer purchasing power, averaged so low that livestock producers were compelled to accept less from the packers than the predetermined price supports—say, 90 per cent of parity—Uncle Sam would pay the difference to the farmer.

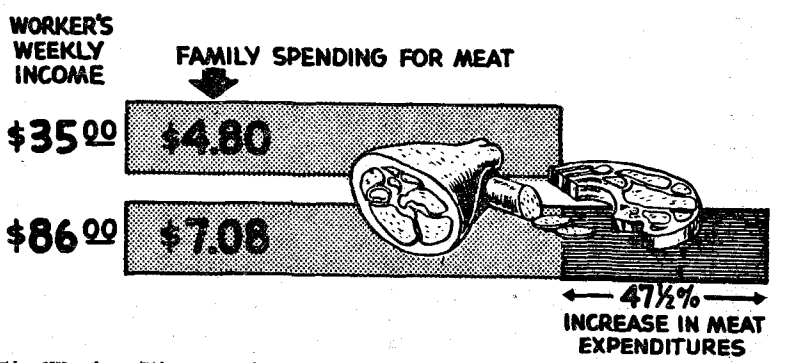
This method would have certain advantages: (1) The payment, if required, would go directly to the farmer—not indirectly, at the discretion of the packing industry, whose Big Four are currently charged by even the Eisenhower Administration with violating the anti-trust laws both on livestock purchases and on the scale of meat. (2) Consumers, particularly the ill-fed third of our population, would have a much better chance of being able to buy enough of the nutritional necessity, animal protein. (3) If production payments were actually required, tax-payers would know that they were getting something for their money, namely, more adequate supplies of cheaper meat.

Some of the "big boys" suggest "improved" credit as an alternative to price supports. But a farmer from Bent County, Colorado, doubted the wisdom of the banker who lent him $17,000 last year—he might not be able to repay it. A year ago 50 tons of his hay would pay for a tractor; today 210 tons are needed. Dennis Driscoll, chief spokesman of the cattle caravan in Washington, after repudiating the charge of a big rancher that he was a "rabble rouser," paid his respects to the "better credit" technique for bailing out the cattle feeders and ranchers by declaring, "Easier credit is like trying to save a drowning man by offering him a glass of water."

Cattle production is not unique—a



The Farmer: The less he earns, the less he buys of Labor's products.



The Worker: The more he earns, the more he buys of the farmer's products (as indicated here in the case of meat).

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widening area of agriculture is sick. Recognition of this situation is causing millions of farmers to search for remedies that will provide assurance of minimum family incomes. Price supports are not the complete remedy, any more than "better credit." Distrust of the "big boys," whether they are cattle barons in Wyoming or their political mouthpieces in Washington, such as Secretary of Agriculture Benson, is only one aspect of the ferment stirring among farmers. An upsurge of new organizational activity and fresh leadership is evident.

Teamwork between organized city workers and organized farmers must also be developed. Farm residents now form less than 14 per cent of our total population, and it is imperative for them to find political allies. For its own reasons, organized labor, too, is beginning actively to seek allies, and the most promising ally is the farmer. Labor's growing understanding of this has been shown at the committee hearings. Joint programs, votes, and other forms of action are now essential.

FRANCE'S LITTLE HITLER

McCarthyism in Paris . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

WHILE the French Finance Minister, Edgar Faure, is struggling with his 1954 budget and trying to reduce the present deficit of seven hundred billion francs to six hundred billion—though nobody yet knows how—and while the country's blood pressure is mounting slightly all the time, no solution for its outstanding problems being in sight, some strange conflicts are going on almost imperceptibly. These conflicts came to the surface on three occasions last week, and people are beginning to take note of them, and to wonder when they will come lastingly into the open.

First, there was the conflict over the Communists: are they "part of the nation" or are they to be treated as outlaws? Then there was the smashing defeat of M. Pleven at the congress of the United Democratic and Socialist Resistance Party at Nantes, as a result of which he resigned the chairmanship of the party. Finally, there was the incredible speach of the Minister of the Interior, M. Martinaud-Déplat, which has already earned for him the nickname of "our little Hitler."

With respect to the Communists, the National Assembly by a small majority, but still a majority, rejected the government's demand, supported chiefly by M. Pleven and M. Martinaud-Déplat, that it revoke the parliamentary immunity of Duclos, the Communist

Drawing by Brandel

M. Martinaud-Déplat

leader, and four other Communist deputies, and also, ironically enough, of the expelled ex-Communist André Marty, for their allegedly "demoralizing" and "anti-national" activities. What they had really done was to demand an early termination of the war in Indo-China. When the charge was first brought against them over a year ago, a case of sorts could have been made out for it, but to prosecute them under what is virtually a treason act for saying something nearly everybody else in France is saying today would have made the Assembly look much too ridiculous. It would also have undermined its position as an auxiliary to the judiciary, which, as it is, has been gravely questioned on grounds of law. For, as the *Monde* puts it, can one seriously expect a political assembly to act in a case like this with the non-political impartiality required of a court of law; should not a more distinctly legal body be set up to deal with the question of parliamentary immunity, which would, of course, imply a revision of parts of the constitution?

In any case, there is much debate over what attitude to take toward the Communists. One cannot get away from the fact that a quarter of the people of France vote Communist—for economic, political, or only sentimental reasons, or, in many cases, because there has always been a revolutionary tradition in France, and the Communists alone advocate, in theory at least, the overthrow of the existing order. In the view of the *Monde* the question arises whether the Communists are to be fought by legal or by arbitrary means; a foretaste of the latter was provided in May, 1952, when M. Brune, then Minister of the Interior, and M. Martinaud-Déplat, then Minister of Justice, organized the police frame-up of Duclos and his famous "carrier pigeons" and of other Communist leaders and journalists—a frame-up which was quashed by the legal authorities a month or two later.

Is France, indeed, gradually moving away from democratic methods; is there something "in the air"? The speech recently made by M. Martinaud-Déplat, the present Minister of the Interior, has certainly been something of an eye-opener; apparently all sorts of very strange ideas are being played with in high places. Suddenly putting on the boots of Clemenceau, M. Martinaud-Déplat declared war on "treason." And

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who are the traitors? The Communists of course, "with their millions coming from Poland and elsewhere," but also the "old-time nationalists," who will not hear of the European army at any price, and—this is something quite new—"the homosexuals." A strange assortment of traitors! Only, as the press has rightly pointed out, one should add to the "Communists, ultra-nationalists, and homosexuals" certain other persons equally hostile to the European army—Daladier and Herriot and Jules Moch and General de Gaulle, as well as millions of ordinary Frenchmen.

But is it only opposition to the European army which has become "treason" in the eyes of M. Martinaud-Déplat? There is more and more talk that M. Martinaud-Déplat may put himself forward as a "strong man" who might, in certain circumstances, and with or without General Juin, attempt an authoritarian revolution. There is talk that M. Queuille, though old and harmless enough to look at, may become a tool in the hands of ambitious men if he is elected to the presidency of the Republic. Is not all this excitement about "Communists, old-time nationalists, and homosexuals" (no doubt the Jews will be added later) a cheap form of demagoguery calculated to appeal to a discontented *petite bourgeoisie?* Does not the very inclusion of degenerates and homosexuals closely resemble Hitler's methods of appealing to the nice respectable German middle class? Martinaud-Déplat is the man most hated by French intellectuals, and is not all this "homosexual" nonsense essentially directed against the intellectuals? The question also arises in the light of Martinaud-Déplat's speech: who *is* France's enemy No. 1? Is it Russia or is it Germany? Cannot France maintain a noncommittal attitude, or must it finally break with Russia and become a German satellite—which is what many have read into Martinaud-Déplat's program? Apart from being pro-German, the Martinaud-Déplat speech also suggests a strengthening of a certain McCarthyist tendency inside the French government.

The resignation of M. Pleven from the chairmanship of his party—a party that grew out of one of the Resistance organizations and is now affiliated to the Radical Party—is symptomatic. M. Plevin is very right-wing, very pro-American, very pro-European army, and a supporter of a tough policy in both Indo-China and North Africa. The majority of the party takes a very different line on practically all these matters. The most vigorous attack on M. Pleven appears to have been made by M. Mitterrand, who criticized as short-sighted the government's policy in French North Africa. M. Mitterrand argued that France could turn North Africa into "another California" if it were not wasting its money and energies in Indo-China. Instead, North Africa is rotting in poverty for the benefit of a handful of settlers—this is particularly true of Algeria with its huge "surplus population."

STATE OF THE UNIONS

The 1953 Picture . . *by Mary Heaton Vorse*

THE C. I. O. convention, which closed two weeks ago in Cleveland, unanimously voted to accept the two-year non-raiding agreement voted by the A. F. of L. at its convention in St. Louis in September. The two great labor organizations, both under new leadership, are at last responding to the rank and file's insistent demands, and unity is for the first time a possibility.

The convention provided a good vantage point from which to take stock of labor's progress since the big split in 1936. It mirrored the thinking not only of its own organization but of all labor and revealed the changes in labor's power and status. In less than twenty years labor organizations have grown from approximately 3,500,000 members to more than 16,000,000. A little less than 10,000,000 of these are in the A. F. of L.; about 4,700,000 in the C. I. O.; the rest are in the Brotherhoods and independent unions. Together with the men's families, organized labor today comprises about one-third of the population of the United States.

Contrasting the two conventions, the A. F. of L. delegates have grown younger and the C. I. O. delegates older. The men attending this year's two conventions were about the same age, averaging in their forties. And as they have been converging in age, they have also been converging in thought.

The C. I. O. convention was volubly anti-Administration and the A. F. of L. convention almost as much so. Through political bungling the Taft-Hartley Act has become of major importance to all American labor. The resignation of Martin P. Durkin and his blow-by-blow account of his experience with the Administration almost turned the A. F. of L. convention into a forum for the Democrats.

The Cleveland meeting was fairly calm as C. I. O. conventions go. At Walter Reuther's request there was not even a snake dance when he was re-elected president by acclaim. It was clear, however, that Reuther had gained strength since last year's close election. The small unions which then opposed him have been won over by his capacity for hard work and his practical idealism. As their memberships have grown, their confidence in him has mounted. A few, including David McDonald of the Steelworkers, still seem unreconciled, still opposed to him.

The C. I. O. became its old, noisy self during Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's anti-Administration address. It whooped applause when he said: "Big business at last has the bankers' admini-

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Walter Reuther

stration it has long sought and long paid for. . . . These modern-day pirates have hoisted a new Jolly Roger over Washington, with a dollar sign for the skull and crossbones. They make old Captain Kid look a social worker. . . . I charge this Administration with callous disregard for the public interest."

The C. I. O. found everything the present Administration has done against the best interests not only of farmers and workers but of small business. The lessened buying power of the farmers—17 per cent below the level of last June—will have repercussions on the workers and the whole country. With the scrapping of controls the price of living is going up. The hard-money policy makes it harder for the little fellow to get money. The proposed tax changes benefit big business and leave the tax burden on the small-income group. The country's resources are being recklessly handed over to the big interests.

The curtailment of appropriations for the Department of Labor was bitterly criticized, and the new Secretary of Labor's conciliatory speech, his first since his appointment, was coolly received.

The recurrent theme at both conventions was what would happen if the "slight recession" which certain business circles are said to favor should occur. It was pointed out that the productivity of the individual worker has increased 13.2 per cent between 1949 and 1952 while wages have risen only 7 per cent, and that according to the *Wall Street Journal* 116 companies and 27 industries show increased profits of 24 per cent since last year. Both conventions emphasized that only an expanding civilian buying market would increase production.

The C. I. O. has always been the pacesetter in labor's continuing struggle for better conditions. Today an important item in its economic program is the guaranteed annual wage.

THE STATUS of labor has changed completely since 1936. It is hard to realize that twenty years ago "factory worker" was a term of contempt and the bulk of unorganized labor held a position little higher than that of the migrants today. When government gave its blessing to organization, workers flowed into the unions by millions. Other legislation favorable to labor followed the Wagner Act. Then came the shattering revelation that high wages meant good business. In the old days, when one in every seven workers was foreign-born, people generally believed that if workers made more, what they did not spend in drink they would send out of the country. After Ford instituted his five-dollar-a-day wage, as revolutionary as mass production, the members of every Rotary Club saw that the workers had become a new home-grown market.

With its improved status, labor has assumed new responsibilities. At the C. I. O. convention a banner stretching across the podium proclaimed in high letters, "What's Good for the Nation, Is Good for the C. I. O." Below was a list of people's desires, such as "Sound Expanding Economy" and "A World at Peace." The identification of the community's good with the union's good has long been fundamental with Walter Reuther.

Community services are an important division of C. I. O. activities but are not its monopoly. William P. Schnitzler, who succeeded George Meany as A. F. of L. secretary-treasurer, stressed labor's role in the community in his Labor Day speech. "The A. F. of L. is your neighbor," he said. "Whatever the A. F. of L. does we do it for all people. When we want better housing or safe and adequate social security, we want these for everyone." The dynamism formerly supposed to be monopolized by the C. I. O. is now noticeable in many A. F. of L. unions.

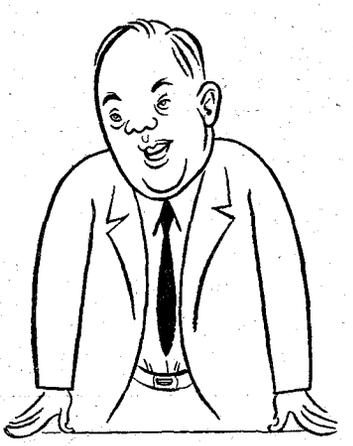
Participation in national and local affairs has led to a lively interest in international affairs among all union members. In recognition of this development Secretary of State Dulles addressed both conventions.

American labor has swung away from its old ideas of the class struggle almost without realizing it. While the A. F. of L. was never socialistic in thought, many of the outstanding leaders of an earlier day agreed with the preamble of the I. W. W.'s constitution, which stated, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." Whether they talked about the class struggle or not, many of them were motivated by it. Today, as Father George Higgins of the Catholic National Welfare Council said in a speech recently, "there is not an ounce of class struggle in a carload of American labor leaders."

We have developed in this country the only great labor movement in the world not based on socialist concepts. The American movement sees itself as part of the democratic process and it is ready for better relations with management.

The great changes which have occurred in labor's thinking were reflected in many Labor Day speeches. The Teamsters, for instance, one of the fastest-growing unions in the A. F. of L.—their president is Dave Beck—asked labor and management "to rid themselves of old-fashioned, actually Marxian notions that they are forever locked in bitter opposition. . . . The key to a magnificent future lies not in industrial peace, which implies a compact between warring factions, but in industrial fellowship based on a common understanding and goal."

This "magnificent future," however, depends on peace in the unions. A ban on raiding must precede labor unity, and the Teamsters have yet to sign the non-raiding agreement. From every point of view, it is necessary now for labor to close its ranks.



George Meany

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BOOKS

From a Writer's Notebook, II

By Van Wyck Brooks

HOW many literary careers suggest the fabled serpent that eats its tail. By good work a writer earns a reputation; then his reputation earns him a lucrative job; then the lucrative job destroys the reputation. So the serpent in the end consumes itself.

★

Let me quote three statements by three scholarly authors and leave them, in this order, to speak for themselves:

"The historians Motley, Prescott, Bancroft, Parkman, Rhodes, Lea, Fiske were not professors; books like Taylor's 'The Mediæval Mind.' Henry Adams's 'Mont St. Michel and Chartres,' Thayer's 'Cavour,' Villard's 'John Brown,' and Beveridge's 'John Marshall,' even Ticknor's history of Spanish literature were not written within college walls."—J. E. Spingarn, "Creative Criticism and Other Essays."

"Such as they are [his own books], I could not have written them had my time been taken by teaching or academic administration."—Henry Osborn Taylor, "A Layman's View of History."

"I soon learned [as an editor] that it was virtually impossible to get fair consideration for a book written by a scholar not connected with a university from a reviewer so connected. Invariably the review, if it did not damn outright and outrageously, would begin by saying that for an amateur the work was commendable, *but*. . . . Envy seems to have abundant place in the present halls of Academe."—Paul Elmer More, "With the Wits" (preface).

★

My chief complaint against what is called scholarship in the United States—in which we seem virtually to have supplanted the Germans—is that, like a certain person of whom Emily Dickinson wrote, it has "the facts but not the phosphorescence of learning."

★

Historical writing in this country has virtually dropped out of literature. This is because the historians respect science more than they respect art and greatly prefer to be, or appear, "scientific." But they also feel nowadays that they must know everything, psychology, economics, semantics, and so on, the result being that the historical mind has been swamped with new material which it has been unable to digest.

What Wordsworth said of poetry in the preface to "Lyrical Ballads" applies, in this connection, to history as well: "The remotest discoveries of the chemist, the botanist, the mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the poet's art as any upon which he is now employed, if the time should ever come when these things shall be familiar to us, and the relations under which they are contemplated shall be manifestly and palpably material to us as enjoying and suffering beings." What Wordsworth means is that all subjects can serve the poet if he can apprehend them with a certain emotion, if they have become involved with his own intimate being, but that until this has occurred they cannot be turned into poetry, they cannot be transmuted into art.

Is not this the case with history also? Only when all these sciences have come to be intimately synthesized and *felt* will they be transmutable in this realm either. In the meantime, there is truth in Lytton Strachey's statement that "ignorance is the first requisite of the historian." Prescott knew nothing about ethnology, Gibbon knew nothing of economics, but both have as many readers now as they had in the days of their first fame. When, on the other hand, one knows too much, one cannot write history, properly so called, at all.

★

What curious tricks our minds play on us. Looking up from my work, I saw a fly crawling on the window-pane. Then I saw that he was crawling between the window-pane and the storm-window outside it, and I knew he could never escape from this huge glass trap. At once I began to sympathize with him, toiling over this desert of glass with nothing to eat or drink day after day, and at last I walked over to the window and raised it so that this fellow-creature could escape so sad a fate. "To open the window and let a wasp out—ah, is this not happiness?" a Chinese writer once exclaimed; and who forgets Uncle Toby in "Tristram Shandy"? When, catching the fly that tormented him, he thrust it out of the window, saying, "Get thee gone, poor devil! Why should I harm thee? The world is surely large enough for thee and me."

But how shortlived in me was this noble feeling! No sooner had I opened the window inward than it struck me that this fellow-creature had become simply a fly in my study; and I knew he would soon be buzzing about my ears. All my tender feelings suddenly turned cold—I forgot Uncle Toby and the Chinese writer—and before I knew what I was doing I had crushed that fly.

★

A publisher in England, advertising a new novel, says, "It contains no obscenities in the new American tradition," and I am wondering how long this tradition is going to last and why it thrives especially in this country. It is understandable that the modern mind requires discord with its harmony, that the beautiful must be "damned" beautiful to be mentioned at all, and I am aware of the prudery that dogged the American literary mind in the generation when I was growing up. But how long does this kind of reaction perform a real function?—and does one not feel now a sort of monotonous adolescence in our use of the cloacal word and the picture it evokes? When a character in a recent story, referring to the setting sun at sea, says it "looks like a big red behind being lowered into a bathtub," I think of some

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VAN WYCK BROOKS is the author of the five-volume work "Makers and Finders—a History of the Writer in America," the first volume of which, "The Flowering of New England," won a Pulitzer price. Selections from his Notebook appeared in The Nation *of November 14 and will be continued in a coming issue.*

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of the images that scene called up before Buck Mulligan spoke of the "snotgreen" sea. In countless minds this phrase of Joyce deflated for all time the association of the sea with majesty and greatness that Homer had kept alive for two thousand years, and while this may have been called for at the moment, deflation ever since has been virtually the rule in literary usage. And how tiresome is this flatness, this dull concentration on the mean—as tiresome as the witless grins that seem to be obligatory in the photographs of public persons nowadays.

★

In her study of Alexander Pope, Edith Sitwell speaks of the willow under which he sat so often in his Twickenham garden. Cuttings of this willow were sent by Pope's successors in the Twickenham house to various parts of Europe, and especially to the Empress Catherine of Russia; and Edith Sitwell says of the tree, which died in 1801, "It is said to be the ancestor of all the weeping willows in our gardens." If that is true, Pope's willow must have more descendants than any other tree in history except the Tree of Life; for, according to the poet Bryant, in one of his published orations, it was the ancestor also of the Connecticut willows, or at least of all the willows on the Housatonic River. The first president of Columbia University, Samuel Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut, called upon Pope on one occasion, and the poet gave him a cutting from this willow which he planted in his garden on the river. The others spread from this.

Of all trees, perhaps, the willow is the most philoprogenitive. Did not Benjamin Franklin raise willows at home from the withes of an old "dead" basket which he had picked up in a gutter in France? My friend Joel Spingarn planted an avenue a mile long, lined on both sides with willows grown from the cuttings of a single tree.

★

When one thinks of the newspapers of fifty years ago, with their classical allusions and their regard for style—the *New York Tribune,* for instance, and the *Evening Post*—one can almost say that nineteenth-century journalism constantly aspired to the condition of literature. One may add that, in the same degree, after about 1900, literature as constantly tended to the condition of journalism.

★

It is a long time since I have seen the word "imponderable" used as a noun in the intellectual weeklies, but there was a day when no issue of *The Nation* or The *New Republic* could have been described as complete without it. One was always reading of the "imponderables" of this and that, and I remember when and how it first appeared, when it dawned as it were in the mind of our liberal circles. The word was Disraeli's —it was a favorite word of his—and Harold Laski quoted it in a review in *The Nation.* After that, for several years, scarcely a fortnight went by without one's hearing of "the imponderables, as Disraeli called them."

How many of these phrases—"Ripeness is all," "It is later than you think" —bloom for a season and then are heard no more. They wear out their welcome in the end like the phrase "a dim view," and as fireworks sparkle for a moment to be suddenly extinguished. One of the longest to survive has been "No man is an island." John Donne uttered it and T. S. Eliot popularized it when he rehabilitated Donne, and it is surely unlikely that Hemingway would have unearthed it himself if Donne's writings had not already been above ground. But when it became the motto of "For Whom the Bell Tolls" it passed with lightning speed into the public domain, and instantly new editions of Donne were published and disposed of and booksellers were obliged to report that they were "out of Donne." One could not keep up with the rage, and the phrase itself became overnight a cliché of advertising. "No man is an island" was soon as familiar as *E Pluribus Unum,* Virgil's ancient phrase for a salad dressing.

★

I note that Robert Frost is now called a "popular" poet by critics for whom this is the last word of contempt. It is a fixed idea with them that, as Edwin Muir says, "one can be popular only by writing falsely," and the fact that a writer appeals to a large number of readers is in itself sufficient to condemn him. I have seen this idea repeated by at least one member of the avant-garde who has himself in the meantime become a best-seller, as Henry Adams became a best-seller when his "Education" was finally published and George Santayana when he wrote a novel. Have we not seen Eliot a popular playwright and writer for the screen with an audience almost as large as Hemingway's?—"the largest immediate audience ever reached by a serious writer," as *Time* said when he published "The Old Man and the Sea."

This mode of criticism by numbers is a curious development of the literary fashion-making mind, all the stranger when we have seen William Faulkner's novels repeatedly appearing in a series called "good reading for the millions." The idea persists in it that a writer must be worthless if he has more than about five thousand readers, and that everything has changed in this respect since the days of Mark Twain or of Thackeray and Dickens. But with Faulkner selling like bags of peanuts and in view of the enormous sales of Scott Fitzgerald, Wolfe, and so many others, how can we feel that the question of numbers means more or less in our time than it meant fifty or a hundred years ago? As often as not, the best books have always been the most popular books, as "Two Years Before the Mast" was in 1840, when two thousand British sailors in Liverpool bought it on the day it was published and apparently enjoyed it as much as the best critics in England. Is that not really all one can say on the subject? How vast was the contemporary popularity of "The Red Badge of Courage" and of Frank Norris's "The Octopus" a few years later! Norris's book was so popular, in fact, that in order to live undisturbed in Chicago while he was preparing to write "The Pit" he was obliged to go into hiding in the town.

I suggest that this notion is a delayed reaction from the nineteenth-century worship of numbers that Matthew Arnold deplored in one of his essays. It springs from an anti-commercial complex that is deep in the minds of American writers and quite distorts their feeling for the realities of the matter. The fact is that popularity or the reverse of popularity has no connection whatever with the merit of a book. Generally speaking, popular books have two traits in common, a subject of central human interest and a certain vitality in the presentation, and these traits may be found equally in good books and bad. Meanwhile, to

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call Frost a popular poet, using the word as derogatory, is to keep in reserve no word for common rhymsters.

★

"Pissarro's letters remind me again that no artist should paint to sell." Thus John Sloan, the painter, in one of his notes. "I am always a little shocked to find that these independent French artists expected to make a living from their pictures. Even Millet—so poor and with a large family to support—never considered any other way of making a living."

This indicates an American trait, one we have developed because we live in a society in which money "talks." Because it talks and talks so loud, American artists shrink from it, and even the mere idea of it, like no others in the world, and I suppose that John Sloan would have thought less of himself if he had made a living, or a good living, from his pictures. If, like Picasso, he had made a million dollars, he would have lost all faith in his integrity and talent. This is the psychological twist that drives into communism so many Americans who have made money in the arts.

I call this an American trait because our writers share it—along with the superstition regarding popularity and numbers—and an English friend, a very good novelist who is interested in the "cash nexus" of writing, tells me that American writers are "incurably genteel." He writes to me, "They pretend there is no cash nexus," adding, "It is bad manners in the United States even to allude to what a man gets for his work." The fact is that in all this we are rather prudish, but it is because in this country the commercial world intrudes into every sphere of life. The English mind is safer, or perhaps one should say it used to be, and is therefore freer. Samuel Butler had the same unaffected interest in money that Dr. Johnson had and my friend has, and Trollope, who felt "somewhat as I suppose . . . an undertaker feels when he is called upon to supply a funeral," did not hesitate to "make money-return a first object." Not one of these writers was ever corrupted by either having this interest or professing it frankly. Still, I like our rather airy American notions. They keep alive the feeling that poverty and good work are somehow allied, a valuable feeling where money talks too much.

Germany, Russia, and the West

GERMANY: KEY TO PEACE. By James P. Warburg. Harvard University Press. $4.75.

THE INCOMPATIBLE ALLIES. A Memoir-History of German-Soviet Relations, 1918-1941. By Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer. The Macmillan Company $5.

By Frederick L. Schuman

IN DIPLOMACY, as in all bargaining, it is always wise to ask for more than you hope to get. The other side will do the same. If both are prepared to horse-trade, a viable bargain, quid pro quo, will result. Since Stalin's death Moscow has been prepared to bargain. The crucial question is whether Washington can bargain. On the eve of the delayed Bermuda conference our allies and enemies alike are given to wonder. Our spokesmen, when not wholly preoccupied in chasing "Russian spies," seem to be saying: we will make peace in Korea if the enemy will give us at the conference table what we have been unable to win on the battlefield—that is, control of North Korea by Syngman Rhee. They also seem to be saying: we will conclude a German treaty with Russia provided that the Kremlin will assent to the unification and territorial enlargement of the Reich, rearmed and allied with the United States against the U. S. S. R. If Moscow dissents, this proves that the Russians are "insincere."

These postures are useful if intended for bargaining purposes. But if, as some suspect, they represent inflexible demands, then no negotiation is possible and "cold war" must go on until our allies, who are wiser in these matters, can change our official minds.

Apart from the "Society for the Prevention of World War III" few American voices are raised to question our German policy. The most eloquent and authoritative is that of James P. Warburg, who knows his Germany intimately from long past experience. His new book is erudite, documented, and frightening. His contention is that the rearmament of the Reich as a bulwark against Communist aggression is a course of folly and that a less dangerous solution to the problem of European security can be negotiated. He analyzes in detail the development of American policy since 1945 and concludes, most convincingly, that the course we are now committed to can lead only to disaster.

Mr. Warburg's alternative, which he has presented to sundry high officials and Congressional committees, seems to me partly realistic and partly fanciful. He urges that we propose the restoration to Germany of all the eastern "lost provinces" save East Prussia and Upper Silesia; that the Saar be placed under a "U. N. mandate," pending a plebiscite; that a united Germany be provisionally demilitarized and neutralized; and that an East-West settlement be based on these terms. This trenchant volume is the most important contribution thus far made to a clarification of the riddle

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, professor of government at Williams College, is the author of "The Commonwealth of Man—an Inquiry into Power Politics and World Government."

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of the Reich. I fervently hope it will influence opinion and policy. But the author has neglected the central question: on what terms may Moscow be expected to consent to the liquidation of the East German regime? The answer, I would guess, is: on condition of the *permanent* demilitarization and neutralization of Germany plus Western guaranties of, or at least acquiescence in, the eastern frontiers as they now stand. Warburg's territorial "revisionism" is inconsistent with prevailing demographic realities and with Russian "security" as any regime in Moscow is likely to define it. But he has given us a persuasive and dynamic challenge which none of us, in or out of public life, can afford to ignore.

GUSTAV HILGER, born in Moscow in 1886, was counselor of the German embassy in Russia, 1920-41. With the able editorial and literary aid of Alfred G. Meyer, now assistant professor of political science at the University of Washington, and financial support from the Carnegie Corporation via the Russian Research Center of Harvard, he has written the most complete account yet published of Russian-German relations between world wars. As a German diplomat he did not know, since no German diplomats knew, when Hitler decided to attack Poland in 1939 and Russia in 1941. But as a statesman he knew that these decisions were mad. His recollections are fascinating, both for their exceptional readability and for the many new lights which they throw on the events and personalities of the long armistice.

These memoirs, wisely, avoid generalizing and moralizing. Yet they constitute most impressive support for a familiar thesis, which also lies behind Mr. Warburg's exposition and dates from Frederick the Great, Bismarck, Rathenau, Brockdorff-Rantzau, and even Hitler in his saner moments—that is, that German interests are best served by collaboration with Russia; Germany invites catastrophe by conflict with Russia.

Our policy-makers are currently dedicated to restoring German military might. A rearmed Germany, as Warburg and Hilger both demonstrate, will either "make a deal" with Russia or go to war with Russia, depending upon the wisdom of its rulers. The latter course will mean the ruin of Western Europe. The former will mean German domination of Western Europe. Our statesmen are apparently unaware of the alternatives. If they were aware, they would now seek a German settlement by negotiation with Russia which would preclude both possibilities.

New Books in Brief

A French Intellectual Looks at America

AMERICA DAY BY DAY. By Simone de Beauvoir. Grove Press. $4.

Four months in America gave the author of "The Second Sex" material for a volume of travel impressions that is delightful to read and invaluable for the American who is curious to see his country through the eyes of an intelligent, witty, sensitive Frenchwoman. Her passion was to enter, as far as possible, into the lives of average Americans. She haunted bars and night clubs, quizzed college girls and taxi drivers, argued with intellectuals, and wandered for many hours through Harlem and the slums of Chicago. And always with an eye for the revealing gesture, an ear for the illuminating phrase.

In view of her keenness as an observer, it is a pity that she should also attempt to play the seer, for her interpretations are warped by the standard preconceptions of the French intellectual. "The arid basis of American life is boredom. Boredom and solitude." Or "There is a ruling class which believes that it is serving this entity, 'America,' and the average American serves certain concrete interests that are not his own. That is to say, individual liberty has no concrete reality." Nevertheless, the book, apart from its generalizations, is so good that one regrets the more keenly the failure of the publisher to correct the factual errors inevitable for a writer who saw so much so quickly.

Collision of Ideas

W. B. YEATS AND T. STURGE MOORE: THEIR CORRESPONDENCE 1901-1937. Edited by Ursula Bridge. Oxford. $3.50.

Yeats's versatile friend, T. Sturge Moore, was a poet, playwright, critic, and artist. He often designed the covers of Yeats's books of verse, providing towers and unicorns at Yeats's request, and many of his drawings are reproduced in this volume together with the

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letters pertaining to them. The chief interest of this correspondence, however, is a long and earnest exchange of views on the nature of reality. Against Yeats's belief in the supernatural, Moore constantly urged the claims of the empiric philosophy of Russell, Eddington, and others, only to be met with accounts of visions and miracles. Moore patiently re-expressed his ideas in ever clearer terms, but Yeats was not to be turned from occultism by mere lucidity, for the spiritualism of Madame Blavatsky and the Rosicrucians had had too profound an effect upon him. In addition to fine insights into Yeats's mind, these letters provide an interesting example of the collision of scientific thought with the mysticism that has drifted into Western culture from Asia.

Social Worker's Career

NOR BY POWER. By Morris D. Waldman. International Universities. $6.

Reminiscences of Morris Waldman's professional career as social worker and secretary of organizations, this book will have especial interest for members of the American Jewish Committee. But anyone interested in the operation of voluntary organizations will find in it useful side lights on the relationship between the volunteer and the professional in such activities.

A Musical-Comedy Life

BRING ON THE GIRLS! By P. G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton. Simon and Schuster. $3.95.

This one reads as though most of the book as well as the lyrics had been written by Mr. Wodehouse. At seventy and more he looks back on a life which seems to have been merry after the fashion of his characters and suggests that he not only wrote musical comedy but lived it. At twenty-eight he came on a visit to New York, decided to stay, met Mr. Bolton and Jerome Kern shortly afterward, began his almost endless collaboration with them, and wrote seventy-two novels and stories on the side. This, apparently, left plenty of time to be a man about town in New York, London, and Hollywood, in all of which places he entered with zest into a gaudy society observed with an eye at once sympathetic and satiric. The best of his often quite funny book is the large collection of anecdotes illustrating the ostentation, vulgarity, and, often, the incredible meanness of producers and players. For all his good humor, no punches are pulled, and there are stories about the still living which would make their hair curl if they were not obviously immune to any such self-conscious reaction. Ziegfeld, always on the verge of bankruptcy but outsplurging Chrysler and Paul Block at Palm Springs, and W. C. Fields, anxiously warning a deferential subordinate not to slam the lid of an aspirin box, are high spots.

CHEYENNE AUTUMN. By Mari Sandoz. McGraw-Hill. $4.50.

That badly overworked word epic can deservedly be used to describe this book. It is the story of the trek in 1878 of a small band of Cheyennes from the Oklahoma reservation to their home territory on the banks of the Yellowstone. The Indian group had been shifted south by government agents who promised that they would be well looked after. But there was nothing sacred about the white man's promise to an Indian, and Oklahoma proved a prison ill provided with food or with medicine for the many sick. Eventually, headed by the old chiefs Dull Knife and Little Wolf, 278 Cheyennes, more than half women and children, stole out of the reservation at night and headed north. They drove off the first squads of troopers that pursued them; they evaded others, and as fall turned into winter they kept steadily moving toward home. Soon the whole West was in an uproar, and 10,000 soldiers were mobilized to hunt down the little band that constantly diminshed as bullets and sickness, hunger and cold, took their toll.

Miss Sandoz has based her story partly on talks with an old Cheyenne woman, a participant in the flight, and other veterans of the frontier, and partly on documentary research. But in the telling she has freely used direct speech and other fictional devices that are rightly frowned upon by historians. Miss Sandoz justifies this breach of the rules by her artistry and the keenness of her ear for the rhythms of Indian speech. Perhaps her reconstruction of this stirring and often horrifying episode is saga rather than chronicle, but it is the kind of saga that illuminates the past by its poetic power.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE life of the theater is not maintained simply through the production of a series of fine new plays. No theater can really flourish if it has wholly to depend on such plays. There are never enough at any given time to make this possible. One of the weaknesses of the American theater is that it tries to live entirely on novelty. We do not see enough of the old plays, we do not have enough small independent theaters like those in Paris, or club theaters—such as the Arts Theater in London (where "The Lady's Not for Burning" was first produced)—or "special" theaters where plays thought to be caviar to the general may be seen.

Despite all our complaints it is not too bold to venture the opinion that New York sees more interesting new plays every season than any other great capital at the present time. Within a certain limited style—the more or less realistic contemporary play—our productions are on as high a level as that of virtually any other theater today. Yet in certain important respects the theaters of London, Paris, Berlin are in a far healthier state than ours. To flourish, the theater needs abundance, variety, and continuity. It needs to be widespread over the entire community on modest as well as on high levels. It needs to form part of a consistent national diet.

It is not essential to a sound theater culture that all the productions achieve or even aim at the first-rate. It is better for people to see even faulty productions of its classic repertory than to see only the best productions of a small number of hot-off-the-griddle hits. For this reason I have always welcomed the production efforts of such organizations as ANTA and the City Center. At worst,

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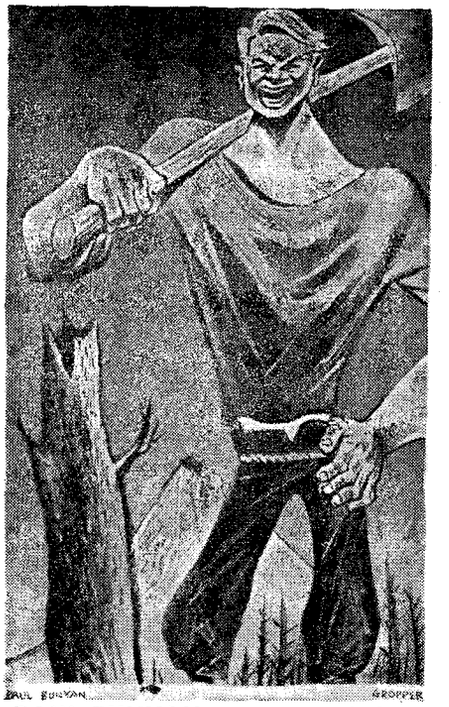

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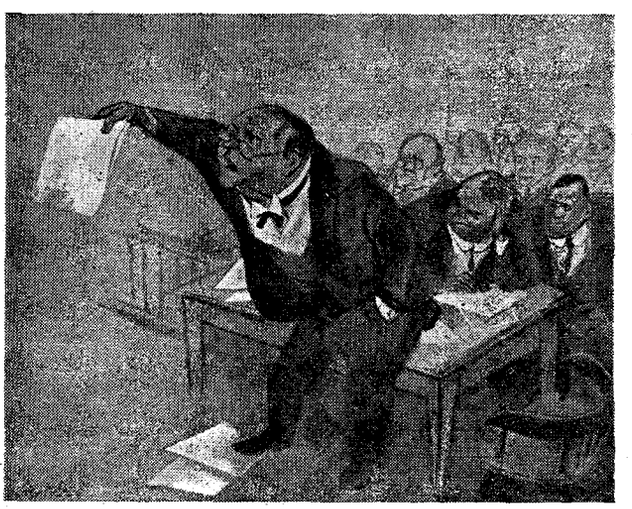

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they were better than much of the so-called commercial product.

The City Center this season began its drama program with a revival of José Ferrer's production of "Cyrano de Bergerac." It was enormously popular—and with good reason. Fustian and all, it is still a thoroughly gratifying play, a play everyone who cares for the theater would enjoy seeing at least once; the City Center's prices are moderate, and José Ferrer is an actor with a great following. I have seen worse productions of the play in Paris, and if that is no high recommendation, I can only say that to see "Cyrano" in a mediocre production is better than not to see it at all.

I prefer "Cyrano" to "The Shrike"—the second bill on the City Center's schedule—though Ferrer is far more suited to his role in the latter play. Ferrer, who is unquestionably a deft performer and an all-around shrewd stage craftsman, has neither the resonance nor range of voice for "Cyrano"; though he has energy and an appreciation of the flamboyant style he has no romantic dash or afflatus. He has intelligence and "verve" but very little lyricism or flow of sentiment. His few good moments in "Cyrano" are the ones which verge on farce—and "Cyrano" is not a role for a farceur. I am looking forward, nevertheless, to Mr. Ferrer's "Richard III."

I approve, too, of the work being done at the Circle in the Square. I do not know whether it is mere accident or a matter of taste, but all the plays I have seen at this theater are plays about the frustration of American women or about the neglected and humiliated sensitive folk of rural places. It is, of course, a good theme, and all the plays I have seen at this Greenwich Village spot interested and sometimes fascinated me, either through the quality of the writing or the talent of the performances. The present production—the first new play I have seen at this theater—"American Gothic" by Victor Wolfson, is no exception to the respectable standard set there.

The new play is a violent tragedy set in the New England of the nineteenth century, somewhat in the vein of Eugene O'Neill's "Diff'rent" and "Desire Under the Elms," or Edith Wharton's "Ethan Frome." The play has some soaring scenes, although as it proceeds, its writing and emotional content, as well as some of the acting, become increasingly schematic and skimpy. One is left at the end with the disillusioning sense that the material has been run through a sort of Freudian sieve and that what is left is a rather thin solution lacking in vital substance.

The production is one of the best-composed that the gifted young director, José Quintero, has given us. A sustained and genuine atmosphere is created, there are several touching performances—notably that of Clarice Blackburn—and the ensemble is humanly warm, not—thank heaven—"professional."

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE recordings of some of the 1952 Prades Festival performances are—like those of the earlier festivals—an outstanding event. The volume (Columbia SL-183) devoted to Schubert offers the Piano Trio Op. 99, played by Schneider, Casals, and Istomin (ML-4715); the less frequently heard but no less beautiful Piano Trio Op. 100, played by Schneider, Casals, and Horszowski (ML-4716); one of Schubert's supreme achievements, the String Quintet Op. 163, played by Stern, Schneider, teristics of the new one are its slower pace, its more detailed and more powerful inflection, and therefore its more powerful expressive effect. Much of the power is contributed by Casals's tone Katims, Casals, and Tortelier (4714); and on one record (4717) an engaging minor work, the Sonata Op. 162 for violin and piano, played by Szigeti and Hess, and the uninteresting Variations on the song "Trock'ne Blumen" for flute and piano, played by Wummer and Mannes.

As against the lightness and grace of the famous performance of the Trio Op. 99 recorded by Thibaud, Casals, and Cortot twenty-five years ago, the characteristics of the new one are its slower pace, its more detailed and more powerful inflection, and therefore its more powerful expressive effect. Much of the

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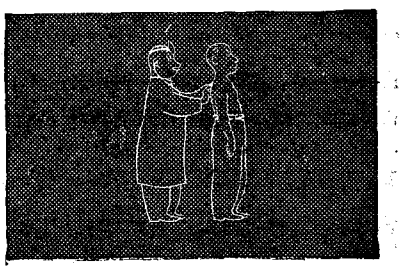

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and phrasing; but his dominant voice is heard in a beautifully integrated ensemble performance; and this is true also of the performance of the Trio Op. 100, which exhibits a similar power as against the lightness and grace of the old Busch-Serkin Trio performance. Similarly integrated ensemble playing, with Casals not dominating, is heard also in the quintet; and this performance too is slower-paced and more powerful than the old one of the Budapest Quartet and Benar Heifetz. But at the beginning of the slow movement Roisman, in the Budapest performance, plays his part, which is marked *espressivo* in the score, with a sensitive expressive inflection that is lacking in Stern's curiously staccato and perfunctory treatment of the passage. For the rest, Szigeti's unattractive tone is the one flaw in a fine performance of the sonata; and there is no flaw in the performance of the variations.

Played with Columbia's LP bass turnover and treble roll-off the performances sound too heavy down below and insufficiently bright and live on top. And they are heard with the usual counterpoint of clicks and crackles from scratches.

PARISH and Ohl's "Masterpieces of Music Before 1750" (Norton, $5), which I meant to speak of long before this, is a book designed for students of the history of music which gives the texts of a series of pieces from Gregorian chant to Bach in short score—mostly two staves—so that they can be played on the piano or sung. In this way the reader can produce partial realizations of the pieces in sound; and now he can hear the complete realizations provided by the performances of all fifty pieces by Danish soloists and ensembles on three Haydn Society records. The authors of the book claim that their primary requirement in selecting the pieces was that each "be in itself an interesting and beautiful piece of music, well worth performing for the sheer musical enjoyment it can give, aside from any pedagogical purpose"; and listening to the early pieces on the first two records I have found many of them to be in fact interesting and beautiful, but a few to be neither. And listening to the later music of the period I am more familiar with, on the third record, I have wondered why certain examples—*e. g.*, of the harpsichord sonata of Scarlatti, the concerto of Handel—were chosen in preference to the finer ones that were available. Most of the performances are good; but there are stolid playing of the harpsichord by Finn Videro, some acidulous notes from the soprano Ella Simonsen in the Carissimi excerpt, shrill high notes from the sopranos in the Bach chorus *Es war ein wunderlicher Krieg,* and a few tempos—*e. g.*, in the Corelli concerto—that seem to me ineffective. On the last three sides the last piece is afflicted with a hash of distortion; and much of the music is heard with the noises from the inevitable scratches.

I have had time only to glance through Ralph Kirkpatrick's book "Domenico Scarlatti" (Princeton, $10); but that has been enough to establish his exhaustive report on Scarlatti's life and music as one of the most enlightening and valuable books on music that have come my way. The discussion of the music includes a chapter on Scarlatti's harmony which explains his unorthodox practices as integral with his keyboard style and therefore not to be "corrected" as they were in the Longo edition. It is good to know that the book is being supplemented with an edition of authentic texts of sixty of the sonatas and with recordings of performances of these texts.

Another such valuable product of painstaking research is Fritz Rothschild's "The Lost Tradition in Music: Rhythm and Tempo in J. S. Bach's Time" (Oxford, $12.50). The tradition that was lost after Bach's time was the conventions governing the performance of the music of Bach and his contemporaries—the conventions which enabled musicians to know from the time-signatures and note-values of a piece its tempo and rhythmic character. And it is these conventions that this book explains. The author, I note with interest, is not a scholar but a practising musician—a former leader of the Vienna Symphony and of a string quartet. It is not the musical scholars who came here from Germany but the practising musicians that have made a valuable contribution to our musical life.

And finally there is Walter L. Woodfill's "Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I" (Princeton, $7.50), which establishes "the conditions under which the professional musicians worked, and the place of music in the lives of Englishmen generally."

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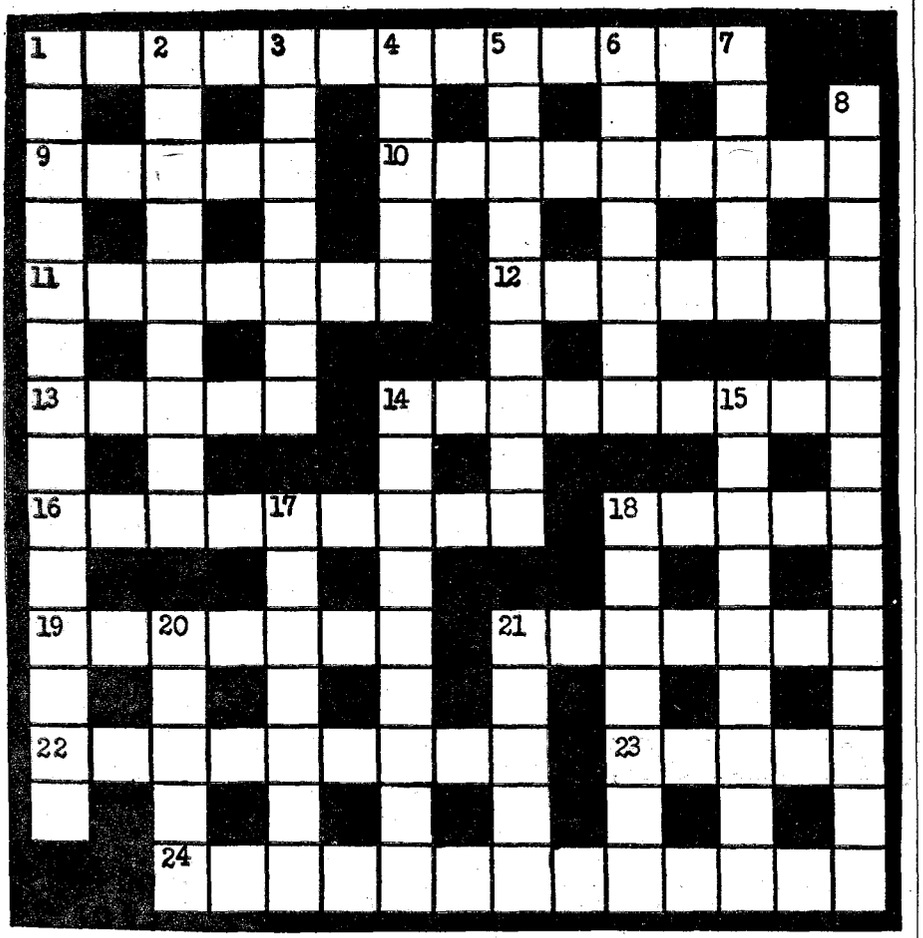
Crossword Puzzle No. 544

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Some cameras have, but we don't think to use them. (6, 7)
9 The Ancient Mariner said we were the first that ever, into that silent sea. (5)
10 It's a fine point, but the way to get the icon lit up. (9)
11 Neither here nor there? (2, 5)
12 The closest place to throw things? (7)
13 Branch of the peace movement. (5)
14 Attended a sort of this, before being escorted? (9)
16 Exemplified by Schwanda. (9)
18 The one of 13's is a Beethoven oratorio. (5)
19 I'm put in the position of being shot! (7)
21 Pertaining to that symbolized by B. (7)
22 Are they protected by le ciel? (9)
23 Train's hero and I are together. (5)
24 A. M. A. club, usually associated with red organizations? (8, 5)

DOWN

1 Buffer at the Golden Gate? (6, 2, 6)
2 and 6. Is a megaphone? (3, 6, 3, 4)
3 Commonly get excited, so it's in one of 16 directions. (7)
4 Enough, but not quite enough for a specimen. (5)
5 Bulbs, for example, look like a coat with the bottom of the trousers torn. (9)
6 See 2.
7 Hail is evidently a relief. (5)
8 Does he look for quarters on the trail? (5, 9)
14 Pertaining to the story of mixed up ethics, when cutting a caper. (9)
15 Is out of 5, when the physician gets mixed up in it. (9)
17 Stained, as an alternative. (7)
18 Is such bliss sort of war-like? (7)
20 Up-draft in the evening? (5)
21 *Nobis in posse?* It's beastly! (5)

• * •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 543

ACROSS:—1 ARMED SERVICES; 10 AGRAFFE; 11 CHAIRED; 12 NARRATORS; 13 WIPER; 14 OPTICS; 16 COPY BOOK; 19 SURMISES; 20 ACETIC; 22 CRANE; 23 VARIANCES; 25 OILWELL; 26 PRIMULA; 27 CAUTION LIGHTS.

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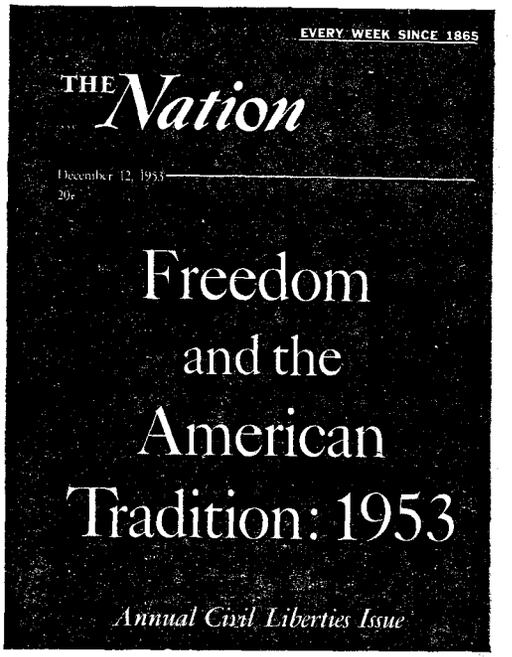

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